2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By KALERVO OBERG

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

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tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were in this general area when first discovered by the Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecactemie, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates of the total Guaná population vary. At the end of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a wider territory stretching all the way from the present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as numbering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this period the Mbayá were composed of the following subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiadegodí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibogodegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 217–218).

Early writers, imbued with medieval conceptions of political status, claimed to see in this interdependence a relationship of lord and serf after the European pattern. This view on the basis of their own evidence appears exaggerated. A thoroughgoing system of social stratification based on cultural differences usually implies some degree of political unity and marked distinctions in status and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a "band" basis. The Guaná always had their own lands and villages, their own social organization and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs married Guaná women of rank seems to imply a degree of equality between the chiefly classes of the two peoples.

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just how this political domination was achieved is not made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had female chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá chief gave him rights over his wife's people. There is some doubt that the Guaná had female chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this. Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female chief's husband could usurp his wife's position in a tribe where female chieftainship was a culturally defined rule. When we learn that the

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Terena
Mbayá SK11

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the western side of the Paraguay River, however, pushed northward and began raiding other Indian tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso. Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout most of the eighteenth century, concentrating on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay, Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end of the century many of their bands were found settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory.

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay River where they finally settled. During the Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso, Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government.

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth century had moved northward and had settled near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau described a Guaná settlement in this area as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working agriculturists, growing rice, beans, maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau, 1850–59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau visited a Terena settlement near Miranda. He stated that the Terena had just arrived from the Chaco and were located in four villages, the total population being about 3,000. He says of the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have preserved all the customs of their fathers. . . .

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In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469). 175 648

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding. [131]

The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return. 175 361 [48] 175 648

The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo.

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3:Oliveira--11 E-5 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

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I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

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1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

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3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

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Guarani SM4
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the present century, we might note the Kinikináu (Guaná) and the Ofaié-Xavante. The former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

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Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

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114 documentation on the experiences that the Guaná groups under-
177 went in contact with European civilization should meet the re-
quirements that might arise from a historiographic inquiry into
114 the relations between Indians and "whites." On the other hand,
as far as information of an ethnographic character are concerned,
we must admit the scarcity of the data, much less rich than
175 that concerning the Guaikurú groups. In spite of the fact that
the 18th-century bibliography on the Chaco groups, for example,
is regarded as being most satisfactory, to the point where
Alfred Metraux states that "the 18th century is the golden
age of ethnological literature on the Chaco" (5), we do not

5. 1946:206.

find, in relation to the Guaná, any work of the rank of a Dobrizhoffer or even a /21/ Labrador. This latter chronicler does give us a very good description of the Guaná, but--if we compared it with the section of his book, O Paraguai Católico /Catholic Paraguay/ that concerns the Mbayá-Guaikurú--we shall conclude that it is far inferior to the magnificent pages dedicated to the famous Indian horsemen. /Map 1 appears here./

But let us take the Terêna specifically. We shall see that the bibliography regarding them only begins with Castelnau, in 1844-45, and thus in the middle of the last century. We find brief references in the /22/ 18th century in Sanches Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre, which are nothing more than mere indications of location and population estimates. In the 16th and 17th centuries they are not even mentioned. The Cartas Anuas /Annual Letters/, for example, which are so rich in information on the many Chaco groups, tell us almost nothing about the circumstances of the Terêna in the 17th century. And Schmidel and Cabeça de Vaca, who went through the Paraguayan Chaco respectively in 1535-36 and 1543, limit themselves to a few brief remarks on the Guaná,

[Text continues on p. 16]

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175 of minor importance except of course for the former's famous statement, when he compared Guaná-Guaikurú relations to the state of subordination prevailing at the time in his own country between feudal lords and peasants.

[131] The 19th-century bibliography, even prior to Castelnau, becomes far more useful for the study of the Terêna, since it reveals the presence of Guaná groups in the region now centered on the city of Miranda, the present area of the greatest concentration of Terêna local groups. From the information left 175 177 us by Almeida Serra (1803), Hercules Florence (1825-29), and indirectly by Alincourt (1828), we can form a good idea of the interethnic and tribal contacts in that area and of the relative isolation of the Terêna population. And this lack of data on the Terêna, at the time, is explained by Castelnau's statement (1845), according to which, up to that time, those Indians had maintained "very few relations with the whites." And he adds: "They are a warrior people who retain in their entirety the customs of their ancestors." (6)

6. 1949, II:301. (The dates in parentheses refer to the time when the travelers were near the groups mentioned and not to the dates of publication of their works.)

175 From Castelnau on the bibliography is more satisfactory, and none of the chroniclers fails to supply--although in varying degrees--data on the Terêna. From Elliot (1844), through Leverger (1847), Francisco Lopes (1848-49), Alves Ferreira (1846-50), up to Taunay (1863-64) and Bach (1896), all of them--and especially the last two--are lavish with information of great interest to the study of contact situations between the Terêna and the national society, even though, let it be said in passing, only Bach and in second place Taunay provide ethnographically relevant material. In a strict sense, in the

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178 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, insso far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [640] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

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121 elements in the region of the Terêna, and their consequences
177 for that indigenous group, as well as to the questions raised by
178 an analysis of the interethnic and intertribal acculturation process, namely: Why do the Terêna, in spite of long, continuous, and systematic contact with neo-Brazilian population nuclei, still remain Indians, even after their integration into the regional economic structure? What mechanisms cancelled the ways to acculturation? How far is this true of the Terêna population as a whole? And we might also add--although here we shall refer to it only in passing--, what factors led the other Guaná groups to extinction, while only the Terêna survived?

101 Let us begin, thus, with a brief note on the Guaná groups and the place occupied among them by the Terêna subtribe. According to Metraux the southernmost groups, representative of Aruák culture, were divided into two branches, "whose history and culture developed along different lines: the name 'Chané' will be used for the western subtribes, along the Andes, and 'Guaná' for the subtribes of the Paraguay basin." (9) The

9. 1946(a):238-39.

former occupied the northwestern fringe of the Chaco, while the latter occupied the northeastern region, practically delimit-
[131] ing, in an extensive semicircle, the Chaco culture area. It is precisely the latter who demand our attention, in view of their later move to the eastern lands of the Paraguay River.

Meanwhile, the names Guaná, Txané, and some of the designations applied to the Aruák subtribes, of the Paraguay basin, demand some further explanation so that we shall be better prepared for the identification of the groups referred to by the chroniclers and for the clarification of the places they
101 occupied in Brazilian territory. Sanches Labrador testifies that
125 "in various parts of Catholic Paraguay mention has been made of the nation, /25/ commonly known by the name of Guanás. They call themselves Chanás, a name that covers all

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101/175 parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among themselves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

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10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

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174 they were encountered by 19th-century travelers. It seems
167 improbable that Guaná groups should have entered the region
[114] before that time, as Azara would have us believe. (19) The

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19. "At the time of the arrival of the first Spaniards, they (the Guaná nation) lived in the Chaco, between the 20° and 22° parallels of latitude. They remained there until 1673, while a large part of the nation settled east of the Paraguay River, north of the tropic, in the country that was then called the province of Ytatí; then they spread toward the south." (1809, II:86.) Incidentally, the objectivity of this statement is also questioned by Metraux, 1946:239.

175 testimony of Padre Sanches Labrador is conclusive in this respect, The
167 when he notes the first migratory movements of those Indians
[197] toward Brazil, between 1760 and 1767. It should also be added that the bulk of the migrations seem to have occurred--according to Max Schmidt--after 1767, i.e., says he, "the chief migration of the Guaná population as a whole only began at the time when the Franciscans replaced the Jesuit missions." (20)

20. 1903:327.--That date, 1767, marks the expulsion of the Jesuits from that area.

114 We do not consider it necessary to give here the itinerary of these groups, or even to undertake a demographic analysis of the Guaná as a whole. It will be sufficient to refer the

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114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the Handbook of South American Indians for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
● 175 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikînau--who

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21. Atas Cuiabanas /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos índios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

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by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already

22. Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikinâu in 1847, while the above-mentioned Atas reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikinâu, that is, one thousand altogether.

emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded, there being only a small number of survivors scattered through Terêna aldeas.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

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the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last

23. 1809, II:86-88.

century, Castelnau (24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

as representative of the regional Terêna population. Today the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter--are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

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121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
648 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

• 175 The first information available on the Guaná(26) show
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26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture, as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots, and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested, another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 fresh food in the plots and in the houses."(27) Already by this
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27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position, as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according to which the Guaná were"vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their seigniors."(28)

28. Ibidem.

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175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

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The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

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Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

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175 Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this
648 subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the
M Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have
[651] been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on
G kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms
[582] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some
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31. 1910, II:266.

Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or
G captains married according to their fashion Guaná women
[586] caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

32. Idem., I:267.

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

G M 175 648 [201] /31 cont./ their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko. "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone M 565 648 125 have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation G M 125 648 431 and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

G [208] offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which M [565] [574] the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not offered such presents, even though they are provided with food during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 648 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the 17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to G [439] their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 648 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák. (37)

[Text continues on p. 33]

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37. "Worthy of note in the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, through colonization is the fact that it has nothing to do with political power, being based on a purely economic-administrative foundation.... We thus find an automatic explanation, in this type of colonization, for the extraordinary phenomenon that political power is not found in the hands of the Aruáque men in various South American regions, in spite of the obvious predominance of their culture and their economic-administrative system." And in a footnote (no. 165) the author adds: "...this also occurs among the Guanás, who formerly lived in Mbayá territory, so that they appeared partly as allies, partly as vassals and people under the protection of the Mbayás."

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--"In such cases," warns Max Schmidt, "we must not conclude at the outset that we are dealing with a later subjugation of Aruáque tribes by other groups, as so many tend to do. Only where such a domination by means of force is proved by definite historical facts must it be taken into account. In all other cases, to judge by the spirit

/32 cont./

A 174 648

of the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, it is more logical to admit that political power never lay in their hands." (Cf. 1917, Ch. 4.)

A 174 648

according to which these tribes, when they establish relations with the populations of neighboring tribal groups, manage these relations in such a way as to lead to a condition of economic dependency.

G M 175 648

Let it be emphasized, therefore, that the information left us by 18th-century chroniclers are very important because they reveal, in our opinion, actual contact situations between the Guaikurú and the Guaná. They prove a Mbayá-Guaikurú hegemony that already existed in pre-Colombian times, probably immediately following the settlement of those Aruák groups in the Chaco. If there already existed a certain military superiority on the part of the Guaikurú over the Guaná and other Chaco groups, this became more pronounced when those Indians adopted the horse and changed it into a weapon of war, already in the times of the Spanish conquest. Once this superiority had been established and made concrete, it does not seem correct to state that it must have acquired identical characteristics in relation to all Chaco groups, indiscriminately. With the exception of the other Guaikurú groups, such as the Payaguá, or groups such as the Mokovi, Abipon, and Toba, it was the Txikíto, the Guaxi /Guachi/, the Guató, and especially the Txamakóko, the most frequently attacked tribes, which, when vanquished, saw their /33/ members made into captives.(38) Meanwhile, the Guaná groups were

M 175 648 [77] [192]

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G [175] [648]

38. We use this term in its most general sense, keeping all the variations that might exist in the relations of dependency of captured

/33 cont./

M 175 648

Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

G M 175 648 [162]

treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

M G 114 175 648

39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written. Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

M G 175 648

/33 cont./

MG 975 648

some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

GM 175 648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

MG [65] [43]

/33 cont./

G M 175 648 [651] [431]

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

G M 175 648 574

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

M [562] [622]

41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

G M 175 648 361

cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

/34 cont./ fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)."(42) The

42. 1845:209.

chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..."(43) And as for those Guaná, already

43. Ibidem.

mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...," when called "captives" by the Portuguese.(44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

G 175 182 619 /35 cont./ It is plain that in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative independence as a group.

G 175 184 181 648 On the other hand, we must also take into account the existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in particular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikináu.

G 175 184 181 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara

45. 1910, II:256.

G M 175 648 131 M 563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a

46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.

G M 175 648 571 case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

M [563] [622]

G M 175 648 [537] [622] [682]

/35 cont./
Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

G [131] M [563]

Aside from the Fxoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

G M 175 648 197 G 177

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns![49] This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

G M [101]

G [191]

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

M 175 648 563 197 G 175 177 M G [171] This shows the intensity of the process of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú influence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G M 175 648 M 721 [191] G [212] It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú intertribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or develop along the same lines. There were times when some Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of their full power and superiority over the other nations that did not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths they suffered each year."(50)And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

G M 175 728

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

G 137/
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The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy throughout the Paraguay basin.

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We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná subjection: "According to the best informants I could get," he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

G M 175 648 571

/37 cont./ very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

G M [177]

53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

3:Oliveira--43 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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G M 175 648 571

/38 cont./ and adherence to norms." E. T. Hiller, 1947:151. /Cited in English./

G M 175 648 571 177

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

G 121 128

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

G 121 [127]

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

G [173]

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

●175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

175 721 [565]

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

114 565 [104] [654] [178] [567]

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was
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69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

• [175]
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70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

[Traditional Culture]

/50 cont./ "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

3:Oliveira--71 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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IV. History of Interethnic Relations

At the end of the 18th century, when the Guaná groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

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97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

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The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

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98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacária and Xeres. There, in those campos,

3:Oliveira--72 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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/57 cont./

the members of one bandeira headed by Salvador Moreira, founded an encampment and set up farming for sustenance. Around 1660, Braz Moreira, brother of that bandeira chief, rebelled, along with some men from Sorocaba, and punishment was called for. A deposition dated July 28 of that year was drawn against the rebel for insubordination, at the encampment itself. The incident, documented by the scribe Antônio Alvares Maciel, shows, for the historic record, the fact of the effective possession of the Vacaria glebes by the bandeirantes (the italics are ours). In the foothill region of Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira and André Zuniga, in the course of three lustrums, between 1678 and 1695, had held their own in their stockaded campos, with their fleet of canoes engaged in the traffic of /Indian/ captives. The Portuguese 'uti-possidetis' was being secured on these glebes." (Op. cit., p. 49.)

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Paraguay basin, on the other hand they did serious injury to the indigenous populations. In the struggle that ensued between the "Paulistas" and the Jesuits /58/ and Spaniards for the expansion of their empires, the Indian got the worst of it: drawn

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G H 175 648

/58 cont./ into every camp, often fighting fellow Indians, he was the most despoiled, of his goods, his lands, his people. The pastoral wave, however, came to attend to more productive occupation, although it also represented a constant threat to the tribal groups that stood in its way.

H 175 167

Let it be clear that we are speaking of a specific pastoral wave, national in character, and representing the natural expansion of the neo-Brazilian society. There is no doubt that

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the area formed by the tributaries of the left bank of the Paraguay (even where it is today Brazilian territory) was partially occupied by livestock, chiefly "baguá" livestock, the same variety of cows and horses the first heads of which were brought by D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca in 1543; and the inroads to which they were subjected by sorties of the Guaikurú provoked the Spaniards, who were virtual owners of those herds, (99) to make minced meat of them.

99. Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra tells us the scope of the slaughter carried out by the Spaniards among the Guaikurú. The chronicler tells us that from 1793 up to 1803, the date when he was writing, the Guaikurú created havoc in proportion to the Spaniards' advance with their fazendas, pushing them back or even destroying them and coming into possession of 20,000 horses, some cows, etc. The Spaniards then organized two slaughtering expeditions in 1796, killing the famous Guaikurú "captain," Queimá, ten other "captains," and 300 Indians; in 1797, another even larger /expedition/

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3:Oliveira--75 E-5,4 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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us the first arrival of settlers, who will arrive in ever increasing numbers, coming from the Province of Minas Gerais, where they do not find the fertile and unpopulated plains that draw them here for their benefit and ours." (1840: 170-71.)

G H 175 167 [101]

But the region actually occupied by the Guaná--called Itatins at the time--was to take in almost simultaneously two human contingents of distinct origins; and it may even be said that this encounter was the closing point in the pastoral penetration, i.e., the meeting point of two segments of the same frontier, coming from the northeast and channeled through the funnel formed by the Parnaíba River and the Rio Grande: while one segment came toward the south, fording the Paraná River and entering the region of fine campos called Vacaria, another headed west to Coxim, probably incorporating people from Cuiabá, and closed the circle in the region of the Taquari and Miranda rivers.(101) We believe

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101. "For tens of years, the old regions of the Taquari and Miranda, the latter formerly campos de Xeres, from the river banks to the banks of the Apa, as well as the Vacaria plateau, formerly llanos de Yguari, extending to the Iguatemi, had remained in their natural uncultivated state, left to the exclusive rule of the inhabitant. -- On the right bank of the

159 cont./ On the right bank of the Miranda, through the years, since its foundation in 1797, there survived only the fort of the same name, surrounded by some aldeas of Guanás, Quiniquinaus, and Guaxis.-- In the Vacaria region, the beautiful campos of native forage stretched to the horizon, like a green, softly billowing ocean dotted with small spots of thickets.... These campos were to remain isolated from civilization for many years. At the same time, during the third decade (of the 19th century), on the banks of the Parnaíba and in the valleys of the tributaries of the Paraguay River, the settlement of those vast lands isolated in the heart of Brazil began." (Mário Monteiro de Almeida, op. cit., pp. 227-228.) See also Nelson Werneck Sodré, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

We believe that only in the mid-19th century, shortly before the Paraguayan war, did the Guaná become conscious of the consequences of this pastoral frontier. Up to then, the bulk of the regional livestock--as we have said--seems to have come from Paraguay. And one might rightfully assume that this wave did not present a favorable demographic index for permanent settlement: the size of the glebes and the extreme mobility of livestock rearing, along with a sparse population, would hardly have presented

G H 175 167 H 233 [361]

/59 cont./ conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient

102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

G [137] [136]

technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

G H 175 167 640

It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

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103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had

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been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

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close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

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/60 cont./ offer. (104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

> 104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna.

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a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

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The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of

106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

3:Oliveira--81 E-54 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
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Mato Grosso, it is no less true to say that the NOB fostered the rise of a new human wave whose characteristic continuity and stability brought to Mato Grosso the seeds of a progress that we are still witnessing. The economic and demographic increase brought to Mato Grosso by the NOB changed the regional urban landscape, stimulated the creation of new population nuclei--which were being born along the railroad--, and thus imprinted a special character upon the indigenous configuration in that extensive area of southern Brazil.(107)

107. "However, if in Mato Grosso the railroad did not determine the metamorphosis produced in the São Paulo zone, it did have an influence on the growth and transformation of towns and cities in the interior, along the railroad, such as Três Lagôas (with 5,154 inhabitants in 1940), Campo Grande, the traditional cattle-trading center of southern Mato Grosso (already with 23,054 inhabitants in 1940), Aquidauana (with 5,773), and others even beyond the end of the tracks, served by river navigation, such as Corumbá (13,319 inhabitants in 1940), which prospered with the introduction of the new means of transportation, leading to the decline of small urban centers in favor of the larger agglomerations along the railroad line. To get an

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idea of the impetus given in a quarter century, from 1914 to 1940, to the settlement of these regions, it will be sufficient to note that the population of the four municípios of Três Lagoas (15,378 inhabitants), Campo Grande (49,629), Aquidauana (20,949), and Miranda (14,126) climbed during this period to more than 100,000 inhabitants, or more than five times the population estimated before the construction of the railroad." (Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:131-132.)

/62/ The importance of these nuclei to the Terêna population (108)

108. Of the Guaná groups, aside from the Terêna, who survived, as a group, up to the first decade of this century, there were the Kinikináu, who up to 1908 had an aldea by the Agaxi River. In 1925 there were no more than 15 individuals there, detribalized and about to move to Lalima.

cannot be over-emphasized: these neo-Brazilian settlements became most potent foci of attraction to the Terêna and, thus, began to act more intensely as agencies of culture change. In this sense, the relations between Miranda and Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, and Lalima aldeas (especially the last)

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175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

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> 109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the
> [101] neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

[2] [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Analyst]

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175 177 797 131 [62] isolated of the Guaná groups. According to Azara--who got information on them in the same century--the Terêna were represented by two groups, one still living in the Chaco, near the Kinikináu, the other "east of the Paraguay River, below the 21° parallel, on a chain of small mountains that they called 'Echatiyá,' and east of another called 'Nogoná'." (110) Never-

110. 1809, II:87.

theless, we cannot know which of these groups had received the missionary or whether, at the time referred to by the Terêna informants (cf. note 109) all of them were still in the Chaco--
175 which seems to be more probable. Still in the 18th century--
177 at its close--there is some information /63/ we owe to Alexandre
797 Rodrigues Ferreira according to which a Guaná aldea had been visited by a religious; (111) the local group referred to as having

111. Rodrigues Ferreira relates that Padre João Joseph Gomes da Costa, with an escort of 45 soldiers, "left on 13 February last (1791), and having traveled downriver for two and a half days, disembarked at a port on the east bank of the (Paraguay) river, where he mounted a horse and proceeded inland for about a quarter of a league, and there found the first quarters. From these he went eight leagues to the east, the second one, which was called "of the Guimarães." Five leagues further on in the same direction, he reached the third, which was of the Guaicurus." (Ms., sheets 3 and 4.)

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175 177 797 [184] been visited could hardly have been Terêna, but was in all probability an "Echoaladi" or "Echoarana" subgroup. To judge by the 18th-century chronicles, the contact of the Terêna with Catholic missionaries was almost nil, and of very little consequence for the tribal culture, unlike other Guaná groups (like the Layâna and Exoaladi) quite frequently referred to by Labrador and Azara. But, even in the following century, the data left by the chroniclers regarding missionary work among the Terêna do not show that religious proselytism was intensified: referring generically to the Guaná in the middle of the century, Joaquim Alves Ferreira says that these Indians were "in the state of recovering from their intellectual and religious education" (112) and suggests that it would be very desirable--

112. 1905:83.

for a policy of national integration of these groups--"if missionaries were to go and reside among them"; (113) 20 years later

113. 1905:92.

Visconde de Taunay, living among the Guaná Indians of the Miranda region, wrote that these Indians lived in the "greatest ignorance and indifference as far as religion is concerned." (114)

114. 1931:21; "The catechizing is still lagging and has been poorly directed. Few Kinikináus know the significance of the cross and only some Guanás recite our prayers." (Ibid.)

These depositions serve to show that if the other Guaná groups had not received effective catechizing, the Terêna--frequently

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125 132 [797] neglected by the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers--were much less likely to have undergone more efficient proselytism.

Taunay himself gives us a rather precious bit of information [622] on the Terêna. He says, commenting on the role of the caciques [184] in Guaná communities, that "the groups in the region are little bound to the chiefs, only the /64/ Terenas respect their [178] leaders." (115) This statement tells us that among all the

115. 1931:46.

Guaná groups, it seems that only the Terêna retained their traditional culture more or less intact, especially their social structure. Hence the conclusion that the changes that occurred and that are still occurring in Terêna communities must be due to the continuous and systematic contact with the regional population--which after the Paraguayan war tended to increase, as we have seen, owing to demobilization--rather than to the agencies for religious proselytism, consciously oriented toward [797] a transformation of the tribal way of life. It seems that the missionary influence on Terêna culture is a more recent phenomenon, as we shall attempt to show in Chapter VI. (116)

116. "For Guaná culture, naturally," writes Max Schmidt, "the long contact maintained (from the mid-18th century) with Jesuit missions, according to Camaño, must have had a great influence. Despite the fact that the Jesuits, at first, had contact only with the western Guaná groups, those called Chaná, certainly their influences extended to

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the other groups, leading to the loss of much of the traditional culture. After a long interruption of these relations, at the time of the incursions of men of São Paulo /Paulistas/, in the year 1761, the padre, José Sanches Labrador newly visited, for the first time, the Guaná, more precisely the Chaná. With the padre, Don Manuel Duran, an attempt was made to create a lasting mission among the Guaná, who always showed good receptivity. These attempts, however, proved fruitless owing to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. Two years later, a new attempt was made to carry forward missionary work, by Franciscan monks; the lack of means, however, led them to desist in 1772." (1903: 326-327.) This shows that missionary activity itself never had the continuity necessary to lead to a significant change among the Terêna groups, in view of the fact that the other Guaná groups, despite the more intensive contact they

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had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

175 Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt
177 much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the
797 Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than
184 through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna com-
[10] munities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

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648 /65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

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175 648 184 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on [439] the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and

> 118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.)

[444] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

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120. "The Quiquinãus, more than 800 in number, form an aldea in the aforesaid Mato Grande, three leagues northwest of Albuquerque. They engage in farming and furnish this part of our frontier with manioc flour and beans." (Leverger, 1862:222.)

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648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.
439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser intensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population. The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by others with the national society or with the missions leads us to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to contact, followed by the Kinikinãu, and, lastly--among the groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi ("Guanas") and the Layâna.

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648 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
184 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
167 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikinãus, and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikinãus were the first to climb the Maracaju range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful plain that tops that range ...." (121)

121. 1948:268.

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175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
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121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

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123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

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Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretching from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply engraved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades), that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its history. (124)

124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

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Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

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Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big
B [653] fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Tele-

125. Cf. note 105.

graphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered
G [341] wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau aldea, today
G [162] abandoned and already invaded by fazendeiros who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows

126. Missão Rondon, 1949:81.

how the Kinikinâu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the aldeas of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized

127. Cf. note 108.

with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

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/67 cont./ taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service. While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904, and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

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128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

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goods, and of all the plans made with the aim of helping them (Cf. Almeida Serra, 1850:391-93; Alincourt, 1857:362-63), the authorities of the Colônia did not succeed in developing a help-oriented policy, no matter how rudimentary. Here is what the president of the province of Mato Grosso said in 1837: "...for the catechizing and civilizing of the Indians, I do not trust any armchair plans or directives made without any experience or reliable knowledge of the customs, disposition, and characteristics of each of the tribes. In order to domesticate the nations I mentioned, we had to go to tremendous expense, and where the Lower Paraguay is concerned, the only spot where we met with some success, the aid of favorable occurrences /was needed/; insofar as, surrounded by enemy nations and subjected to the forts and military forces which we have maintained there at all times, they had no recourse other than to accept our repeated

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gifts, which they are still receiving. Yet there was no lack of plans, regulations, and repeated orders, most of them unsuccessful, whereas the Spanish Jesuits, without any abstract ideas; without elaborating handsome theories, catechized all the nations they sought out...." (Pimenta Bueno, 1840:170.) The government tried to leave to the religious the job of assistance which it hoped would be carried out in terms of catechization.

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At the beginning of the century, the indigenous population was scattered through the fazendas of the region and its depopulated aldeas were compressed by them. Merely in that area of densest Terêna population, between Aquidauna and Miranda, the report of the commission informs us that "the line in that space crossed through the campos of four Fazendas which own about 6,000 head of cattle. Around these, others are clustered, with three times as many livestock, the principal one being the Cutape ranch, belonging to Colonel Estevão Alves Corrêa, with about 10,000 beeves. The camaradas /farm hands/ on these fazendas are for the most part Terêna Indians...." (129)

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129. 1949:82. The report defines the Terêna's working qualities as follows: "They cultivate manioc from which they make flour, bananas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and cotton, with which they

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178 554 [184] There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna communities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall 121 128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

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V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 36 [167] [162] [103] [162] From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

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175 Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134) This chronicler,
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134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

J. Bach, merely cites those he visited, namely: Agachy, Boquehina, Marro, Marrinho, Ipegue, Santana, and Caytapé; and he states that "all the aldeas present the same type of construction, which is crude, consisting of houses or ranchos with bamboo walls and roof of straw or palm leaves." (135)

135. Ibid.

103 The first difficulty we met with was in looking for the connec-
361 tion of these names, evidently regional--with the exception
174 of Ipegue and, perhaps, Caytapé--, with the tribal names
[173] attributed by the Terêna to their aldeas. We had to resort to the oral traditions of the Terêna, and we obtained the following data which we compared with those gathered by Altenfelder: (136) Imokovookoti or Bookoti, /72/ the self-denomination

136. 1949:281.

of the local group, whose survivors occupy the present-day aldea of Cachoeirinha, three leagues northeast of Miranda; Ipegue, the same local group referred to by the two chroniclers mentioned; Tuminikú, the local group that probably formed the present-day aldea of Bananal; Kamakuê, the local group that occupied the area where there today the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada is; Háokoé, a small aldea one league from Tuminikú; Naxedaxe, already referred to by
[62] Taunay; Sinikuê, a Terêna name attributed to the former aldea of Guaykuru Indians, also known as Lalima, and today populated by innumerable Terêna, Kinikinau, and Layâna families. All these aldeas were located between the cities of Miranda and Aquidauana, with a greater concentration near the former.

Cachoeirinha

174 cont./ And if we compare the successive
censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed.... Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea, taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the community. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 166 648 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands, whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon

175 162 361 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the

> 144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

[648]

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

175 lands that were set aside for them by the Crown and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although already located there for a long time, probably since the 18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the Relatório Anual
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the aldea as populated by 130 per-
[175] sons, 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what the S. P. I. inspector wrote, it was a Guaikurú population. Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of 261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other tribes, especially Kinikinãu and Terêna. It seems that this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population. After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261 inhabitants; Indians settled in the aldea during the year, 3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other aldeas, 24; deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, there are ranchos where a significant part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very important to an understanding of those migration movements we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident. After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal, we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./ his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union were, in 1920, expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of this organization, North American missionaries of the South America Indian Mission settled in Bananal and have since continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the aldea, on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I. A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams of the aldea were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants (or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we

148. Ibid.

have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the aldea, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927 there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, does not specify the distribution of this population between the two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
423 and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
176 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman, at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho, one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde. His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post, moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for ex-
port are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unre-
464 fined sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
197 foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-
ethnic community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

178 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the in-
sistence of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
297 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[Text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 621 797 795 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all probability, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It [622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for example, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community regarded today as Protestant.

162 621 [144] With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure" Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos (the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure" Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are "Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is 101 829 Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language for the "civilizado," whether white or black, despite the fact that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 648 [241] [462] It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city, that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and, naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city and they are constantly sought out in the aldea itself with offers of employment.

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

/90 cont./ A document of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day

149. Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

aldea of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal aldea, close to the present one and also within the reservation. The "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring fazendeiros who wanted by any manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922, only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time inspetor for Mato Grosso. Data from the annual report of that inspetor for the year following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among whom 16 had settled in the aldea in that year. The flow of those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the aldeas of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather small number, considering the size of the reservation.

Like the other Terêna aldeas, Brejão is divided into "bairros": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

192 cont. / [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]
177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

175 Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed.
621 /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when
162 Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indi-
[101] cations that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot.

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[113]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

193 cont.

175 621 648 423

of the consolidation of lands, mines, and colonization, Decree No. 130, of June 4, 1902, that you should see fit to designate as a reservation for the above-mentioned Indians an area of 4,000 hectares, or whatever may be feasible, adapting the circumstances relating to these lands with the minimum necessary so that they will have some land on which to live and work. It is held that there is a band of vacant lands on the boundaries of Fazenda Correntes that by being occupied by Xavante Indians, who preceded the present ones, was not included in the measuring carried out on this fazenda in 1896." (The italics are ours--RCO.)--For an idea of the history of these Ofaié-Xavante, see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

[162]

175 621 [162] [166] [648] probably owing to pressure by the fazendeiros of the region.

It is quite possible that the present aldea of Buriti was established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter); or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate, up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna aldea, as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

175 361

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 Nimuendajú. (152) It seems that only since 1920-22 did Terêna
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152. In 1913, on the order of Inspetor Luiz Bueno Horta Barbosa, Nimuendajú drew up a map locating the indigenous tribes of southern Mato Grosso, the original of which is in the map collection of the Museu do Índio (Seção de Estudos, S. P. I.).

[114]

families who had come down from the top of the range begin
[173] to concentrate in that area. The oldest members of the com-
[115] munity, when interviewed, were unanimous in their identifi-
cation of that time as the date of the founding of Buriti. On
175 the other hand, the first data supplied by reports of the Serviço
621 do Proteção aos Índios, on Buriti aldea, already point out in
[162] 1923 a population of 420 persons, with livestock numbering
233 400 horses and 180 cattle. (153) But only at the end of 1927
[423]

153. Cf. Relatório Anual da Diretoria do S. P. I., p. 148, year 1923.

was the possession of 2,000 hectares of land for the usufruct of
[622] the /94/ Indians located there decreed. At this time there
arrived in the community the present captain of Buriti, Joaquim
Loureiro de Figueredo, (his name was borrowed from that of a
former employer, a fazendeiro of the top of the mountain
range), who is now almost blind and 80 years old; this captain
told us that he was born in Brejão (in Laranjal aldea) and
16 worked almost ten years on Maracaju fazendas. In 1937,
621 Buriti had attained a population of 448 individuals, distributed
464 in 91 ranchos; and it would have been a much larger population,

[Buriti]

/95 cont./ for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives; b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito, subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos, with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably alongside the Kaiwá.

/99 cont./
121 is and what form it assumes in the various communities visited
[184 621] by us. In the preceding chapter we made quite clear the variety of configurations and the considerable differentiation existing among communities, insofar as, for example, ethnic composition or even antiquity itself is concerned.

184 Taking the first variable, we have, on the one hand,
162 621 the following aldeas: Cachoeirinha, Bananal, Ipegue, Passarinho, Moreira, União, Buriti, and Brejão, as ethnically homogeneous communities, with more than 90 per cent Terêna individuals; on the other hand, we have Lalima, Francisco Horta, Limão Verde, and Aldeinha, (158) made up of survivors

158. It is possible to include in this same category São João aldea: with Terêna and Kinikináu Indians and a large number of mestizos.

of already extinct groups such as the Kinikináu, Layâna, and Guaikuru, or of Guarani or Paraguaian individuals, where the Terêna are in the minority or in the same numbers as the others. In these latter communities we would also have to consider the index of mestizos--fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions--, who in some of the aldeas are of great importance for a socio-cultural characterization.

184 As for the second variable, we might imagine a
175 621 177 "gradient" /100/ in which we would have at one extreme Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal, and at the other, Buriti, Aldeinha, and União, without leaving out the Terêna "community" of Francisco Horta, whose components reached that Guarani aldea no earlier than 1917. The time when the aldea was formed is very important to the present inquiry, insofar as it helps us to understand the greater or lesser resistance of
[144 166] the communities to change. The older communities, such as those referred to above, show greater cultural vitality, revealing

/100 cont./

184 a lower index of deculturation in comparison with the newer
175 ones, whose components had a lengthier experience of non-
621 communal life, hired out as they were to the great fazendas
177 of the region. The high mobility of these Indians, moving
464 from fazenda to fazenda, did not permit a more permanent
166 co-existence of families, necessary for the establishment of greater group solidarity and for keeping alive the tribal "we." Few of the families remained together for a long period in a fazenda "colônia"; for the very reason that those who did stay did not leave the fazendas in search of "lands of their own"; they remained settled in their own "community," as long as they found there sufficient "tribal consensus," supplemented by a consistently reliable labor market. This is the case, for example, of the Terêna "colônia" on the fazenda of Sr. Raymundo Correia, in Duque Estrada, comprising six ranchos and a considerable number of children who attend
[466] the settlement school. Nevertheless, the great majority of fazendas offered the worst possible working conditions, whereby the individual received, in kind, the minimum necessary for his survival, while working, a fact that is explicative of his high mobility.

184 In spite of the differences pointed out in the previous chapter and susceptible--as we have seen--of classification into polar categories, we note a considerable cultural uniformity when we take the Terêna population as a whole. There is a common denominator that permits us to regard the local groups as made up of a relatively homogenous population from the
184 cultural standpoint. It can be said that the Terêna cultural
177 patrimony adapted to a variety of interethnic and intertribal
178 contact situations, without presenting on this account important differences in terms of the pattern of behavior. The latter seems to have remained relatively constant throughout the communities, although /101/ this does not mean that this behavior remained immune to such objective conditions as the politico-religious situation of the aldea or intervention from

/133 cont./

*177 582 563 369 562 [349]

colônias (in the município of Campo Grande or in Terenos), and who observed there the great capacity of the /Japanese/ woman for agricultural work, the young Terêna men began to eye the Japanese woman with [241] great interest. Naturally this is the case with the aldea Terêna, since it is he who devotes his activities to planting and does not see in the women of his own group good fellow workers on the land. (Cf. our work, 1958b.)

*177 582 563 369 562 [371] situation gets worse: if he lives in an aldea and takes his wife there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group, even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 608 557 The widening of the family network by means of the compadrio system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommodation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the baptism of his children are selected from among the regional neo-Brazilian population or among the "Pururuya" who enjoy [175] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the [85] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/134 cont./

Paraguayan war to the passage of the Rondon Commission--, baptism and consequently the compadrio system (in its most formal form) was almost a compulsory affair, during the visits of the padres to the "colônias," generally with the consent of the fazendeiro. The surnames that the Terêna carry today, adopted from their godparents, are a witness to that period. At present, with the probable exception of the population that still resides on fazendas, this is no longer of such frequent occurrence: in the aldeas, the intra- and intertribal compadrio system is almost absolute, (204) thus strengthening the tribal

> 204. In the aldeas, the only "Purutuya" godparent is the post superintendent, for obvious reasons.

solidarity threatened by the intense process of change to which the group has been subjected; in the cities, the interethnic compadrio is more common, not only because the field is naturally broader, but especially owing to the Indian's desire to rise socially through this. It is evident that the same mechanisms function here as those that lead individuals from the poorer classes to seek, by the technique of the compadrio, to rise on the social scale; it is only that in relation to ethnic groups--as is the case with the Terêna--, the compadrio represents, rather than social climbing, integration into the dominant structure. Nevertheless, it is unnecessary to underscore the fact that the compadrio is a technique rarely utilized by individuals of the soi disant Protestant group: the institution with results parallel /135/ to the compadrio for the "Believer," is the Evangelical fraternity that is built on worship groups.

4. Among all of the acculturative agencies that have undermined tribal resistance to change, the most effective have been the religious missions. Since this is true of all the indigenous groups that were subjected to religious proselytism

/136 cont./

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Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way
797 decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

● 176 *177 648 [721] [829] 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/ as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas, invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso.

[text continues on p. 197]

/137 cont./

175 177 648 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.

177 666 648 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of democratic life in the country, the political parties began to seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors among those who might perchance know how to sign their names. To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39 electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone, namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União, taken together, the number of electors could not have reached 123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find 177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that 666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan 648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha, a community where we remained for a long time, from making such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the com- 177 munity for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the 666 Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political 648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often /138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/144 cont./

*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to per-
form agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
● 175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
648 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
●175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land protected by the federal government, the Terêna population was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment (cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikináu, the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikináu), unequipped to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
648 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels" spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
648 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
464 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
182 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

/149/

*177 goes on to sell its labor at a better price is not sufficient, for
369 both needs and expenses increase considerably, to the point
385 that it does not pay to leave the aldeas for merely economic
511 reasons. (210) This population is obviously prevented from

210. We saw elsewhere (Cf. 1 and 2, pp. 185-190, that there were also other forces working to attract the Terêna to the city and how they--the forces--were not sufficient to hold them there. As for the fazendas, as a place to live and to work, they do not, and indeed never did, exert attraction on the aldea or even the urbanized Terêna; if this "Terêna fazenda population" exists today, this is due to the successive political and military struggles in which the region was involved, from the Paraguayan war, leading the Terêna population to compulsory enlistment on the fazendas, at a time when native reservations had not yet been set up: this population is made up at present of survivors of the local groups scattered earlier that did not return to aldeas reorganized later. Nevertheless, this population is still identified

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2: Steinen--655 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Guana SP7 Terena Bororo SP8

B 127 BO G 131 16 175

II. The Mato Grosso Tribes according to Cuyaban Records.

Since the fate of the "Archives" of the Directoria dos Indios discussed in the footnote on page 467 is very uncertain, I regard it as necessary to give my excerpt. I shall start with the tables for 1848 and 1872.

			1848		1872
1	Caiuás		?	Vicinity of Rio Iguatimy (1)	?
2	Chamococos		200	Paraguay on the right near Bahia Negra	200
3	Cadiuéos	Guaicurús	850	Paraguay below Coimbra	850
4	Beaquéos	Guaicurús	500	East of the Paraguay and south of Miranda	100
5	Cotoguéos	Guaicurús		Lalima (2) near Miranda	– (4)
6	Guatiedeos	Guaicurús	130	Albuquerque	– (5)
7	Guanaz	Guanás	200	Albuquerque and near Cuyabá	– (6)
8	Kinikináos	Guanás	1000	Matto grande near Albuquerque-Miranda	–
9	Terenas	Guanás	2000	Miranda	–
10	Laianas	Guanás	300	Miranda	–
11	Guachís		?	Miranda	– (7)
12	Guatós		500	Paraguay and S. Lourenço, Lagoa Gaiba and Uberaba	50 (8)
13	Bororós da Campanha		180	West of the Paraguay near the Marco do Jaurú (3)	180

1. The Rio Iguatemy is a tributary of the Paraná, into which it empties somewhat above the Salto-Grande das Sete-quedas.

2. Six leagues south of Miranda.

3. Tributary of the Paraguay. The Registro or Registo (cf. 14), the customs station, lies on the road between Cuyabá and Matto Grosso.

4. Missing in the list.

5. Missing in the list.

6. Were brought to Asuncion by the Paraguayans and all died there.

7. Missing in the list.

8. Are almost extinct as a result of the Paraguay War and smallpox.

/549 cont./

M 105 175 few horses, some wool-bearing animals, birds and pigs. Take wives and children away from the Chamococos as well as the Enimás on the neighboring Paraguay. Weave fine ponchos, hammocks, carrying bands, and belts. Proud, inclined to drunkenness and thievery.]

/550/

G 105 175 7. Guanás. Village near Albuquerque and half a league from Cuyabá.

131 [62] 8. Guanás Kinikináos. About 800 in Village I in Matto grande three leagues west of Albuquerque, Village II 200 near Miranda.

9. Guanás Terenas. Live settled in the vicinity of the garrison city (presidio) Miranda.

G 105 175 10. Guanás Laianas. The same.

[Report 1858: Guanás and Kinikináos in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho under the excellent Brother Mariano de Bagnaia, who departed on vacation and remained in S. Paulo. They had a schoolmaster, a music teacher, and a master tailor. Terenas and Laianas in the Aldea da Villa de Miranda.

Report 1861: The Kinikináos lived in the judicial district of Albuquerque, three leagues from the city, in the village of Nossa Senhora do Bom Conselho long before the establishment of the Directoria. The latter sought to create order through the mission of Frei Mariano. For the Terenas, Laianas, and Guachis -- numbering 2500 -- a settlement was established on 30 April 1860 one league from the Villa de Miranda. (This contradicts the report of 1858.)]

Gi 105 175 11. Guaxis. A tribe almost extinct. Conditions similar to those of the Guanás and Guaycurus of Miranda, where they likewise live.

GO 105 175 [131] 12. Guatós. On the right Paraguay bank and on the lagoons of the upper mouth of the Paraguay-merim to a little below Escalvado, also on the S. Lourenço and Cuyabá mouth. During the rainy season in the flooded campo region. Build small and

GO [501] low huts, during the day remain in the canoes, which are very well constructed, are small and fast. Sometimes one sees a